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TO

THE COBBETITES.

Shangana Castle, 12. Nov. 1834.

MY FRIENDS.—I have this moment got news from NEW YORK, which tells me that my LIFE OF JACKSON had been published there at the price of six CENTS, and that TEN THOUSAND COPIES HAD BEEN SOLD IN ONE DAY! Talk of a long arm, indeed! The Bank villains were all frying alive; just like so many sharks in a frying-pan on a lake of fire. I dictated this LIFE OF JACKSON to my secretary, during one single day, while I was lying in bed to rest myself, after a night's fighting of the army estimates. Base enemies of mine; base Tories and baser Whigs; base reptiles with *nick-names*, do you recollect when BOLTON FLETCHER and his companions put JOHN HAYES into prison ten weeks for the *crime* of having gone round the town of BOLTON with a bell, to inform his townsmen that "WILLIAM COBBETT had arrived at LIVERPOOL in GOOD HEALTH"? I wrote the "LIFE OF JACKSON" to smite the rich russians, and the nick-named reptiles of England! I did, indeed, wish to do honour to that wise and brave man, and to do good, at the same time, to his brave and virtuous countrymen: but, my principal object was, to lend my aid in upholding him against the perfidy, malignity, and bribery, of the infamous villains, on this side of the water, in whose hands the scoundrel bankers in America were the mere tools? And, did I forget, while I was writing this

Life of JACKSON; did I forget the imprisonment of JOHN HAYES; and did I forget the THOUSAND POUNDS FINE? I remember, that, when I finished the dictating of the last sentence, I said, "There! Lord ALTHORP is "famous at expunging; let him ex- "punge that"! Every creature in America old enough to read, or to understand reading, will read, or hear read, the last chapter of that LIFE OF JACKSON; and, though this reading and this hearing are three thousand miles off, they will give a heavier blow to CORRUPTION than any which she has received for many a day. Aye; that reading and that hearing will lower the price of the bushel of wheat in England, strange as that may appear to imbecile, stupid, fraudulent, rapacious, and ferocious CORRUPTION! I give you joy, my friends, on this news, and remain

Your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. I know the three bank-villains, who are now in London, from America, negotiating with villains in London, to obtain the means of upholding the bank-villany in the United States. I will send their names to a friend at New York immediately.

No. VIII.

TO CHARLES MARSHALL,
LABOURER,
*Normandy Tithing, Parish of Ash,
Farnham, Surrey.*

Shangana Castle, 10. Nov., 1834.

MARSHALL,

SINCE I wrote to you last I have learned that, when the charitable, and most benevolent Catholic priests contrived to collect a little money to give to poor creatures who are sick, and even in danger of dying; when the poor sick person gets a sixpence or shilling in this way, intended to be

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him some little comforting thing, the poor creature is frequently obliged to give the bit of money thus obtained to pay the rent of the place where he is, for fear of being flung into the street by the agent of the great lord to whom the house belongs ! There are poor women, who, having got a few pence by begging from shopkeepers and other persons in the middle rank of life, purchase herrings and tobacco with the pence, then go to the country and *swap* these for potatoes ; then come into the town, eat some of the potatoes, and sell the rest to pay the rent of the great English landlord. A Catholic priest has informed me that *dung* is constantly made in cellar-rooms, *under the bed* that the poor creatures lie on ! The other day this Catholic priest (whose name I shall be ready to state to the House of Commons) informed me, that he had just been to visit a sick man on his death bed, expected every hour to die. He found an ass tied to the foot of the bed; which was laid on a frame of old rough boards; man, ass, pig, and family slept, and had the dung-heap, in the same room ! In the country it is a common thing to see the farmer's cow sleeping in the *same room*, with the pig and the family, with a heap of dung, as you know there must be, MARSHALL, in such a case, every morning !

MARSHALL, I have a great deal more to say to you another time; and a great deal more to say to the whole nation, in a little book ; and still more to say to the Parliament when I shall meet it, on the subject of this condition of this kind and good people who inhabit the most fertile country upon the face of God's earth ; who themselves, while they see the oxen, the hogs, the sheep, the butter, the corn, sent away out of their country in hundreds and thousands of ship-loads, never taste either meat or bread themselves ; but see it all taken away from them, while they are reduced to live upon the very worst sort of potatoes and salt at the very best. I shall have a great deal more to say to you and our neighbours and to the nation and to the Parliament upon this subject ; but, at present, I will point out to you

what the law of God is upon this subject. I shall, in a short time, publish a **BIBLE FOR POOR MEN**; but I will just show you here what God has said upon this subject, in one instance or two. You will bear in mind, MARSHALL, that it is the business of the parson to read the Bible to you and to me ; that this is his principal business, and that he gets the tithes for this. You will also bear in mind, that there are Bible societies making great collections of money to distribute about the Bible amongst us. Therefore, into this Bible we ought to look, and see what God has told us to take for our guide in these matters ; to see what he says shall be the fate of the oppressors of the poor.

In the tenth chapter of **ISAIAH**, verses 1 and 2, we are told this : " Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, " and that write grievousness which they have prescribed ; to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the **RIGHT** of the poor of my people, that the widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless."

Now, MARSHALL, a decree is a law ; and " writing grievousness," which has been " prescribed," means just such writings as are now coming from the Scotch vagabonds that I have so often mentioned ; and it is very curious that the great object of these infamous writings is to take away the *right* of the poor, and to rob the widows and the fatherless !

But, MARSHALL, what is to be the end of those who put forth unrighteous decrees ; those who write *grievousness*, as the Scotch vagabonds are now writing ; those who "turn aside the needy" when they apply for justice ; those who strive to take away the **RIGHT** of the poor ; those who are manifestly seeking to make the "widows a *prey*," and to "rob the fatherless"? What is to be the end of these Scotch vagabonds, and all those who assist and uphold them, let them be who they may ? God says, that he will raise up a man to destroy them, to spread desolation amongst them, to make them feel the effects of his indignation at their conduct, to strip

them of their property, and to "tread them down like the mire of the streets." This is what God says shall be done to those who are the oppressors of the poor, or who try to oppress them.

In the fifth chapter of the prophet Amos, the oppressors of the poor are denounced in these words, in verses 11 and 12. "Forasmuch as your treading is upon the poor, and ye take from him burdens of wheat : ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them ; ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink wine of them. For I know your manifold transgressions and your mighty sins : they afflict the just, they take a bribe, and they turn aside the poor in the gate *from their right.*" You see, MARSHALL, how all the prophets and all the apostles agree as to this matter. The villains, the Scotch vagabonds, are not, however, to profit from their villainy in the end. "They take a bribe." A bribe means money given to people to do wicked things ; and here the word of God points directly at these Scotch vagabonds, for they are notoriously hired and paid "to turn aside the poor *from their right.*" But, MARSHALL, what is to be the fate of those who take bribes ? In the book of Job, chapter xv, and verse 34, we are told, that "the congregation of hypocrites shall be desolate, and that FIRE shall consume the tabernacles of BRIBERY" ! Now, MARSHALL, a *tabernacle* means a house in which people live. God has told us before, that there shall be "woe unto those that take a bribe to turn aside the poor *from their right*" ; and he here tells us, that the tabernacles, or houses, of the bribed villains shall be consumed by fire.

Now, MARSHALL, if we believe the Bible to be the word of God, as I hope we all do, this is what God says upon the subject ; and this is what will assuredly come to pass, if these Scotch vagabonds be not speedily put to silence, as I trust they will be put to silence, by the good sense and the humanity and the justice of English gentlemen.

Tell Farmer HORNE, or get Mr. DEAN to tell him, that I say this is the sort of

matter for him to lay before his congregation. Tell him that I say that it is a shame that the people of NORMANDY should be imposed upon by those who pretend to collect money for the "conversion of the heathen," which is a false pretence, and a gross and infamous lie from the beginning to the end ; tell him that I say that I am very sorry to see an honest and good man like him thus imposed upon. Tell him that not a farthing of the money is ever applied to the purposes of real religion and piety ; and that the fellows who get the money into their hands up at London spend it upon themselves, or their wives, or their girls ; and that not a farthing of it is ever applied to any good purpose.

Hoping that you and your family and all of you are well, and knowing that you will be glad to hear that I am the same,

I remain,
Your master and friend,
W.M. COBBETT.

TO THE
EARL OF RADNOR.

Shangana Castle, 10. Nov. 1834.

MY LORD,

I am sure that it is unnecessary for me to say that I heard with extreme pain of the serious accident which has recently happened to your lordship ; and if I had not felt that pain, I should have been an unnatural and most ungrateful monster. But, my lord, the accident has taken place ; no one can prevent that which has happened ; and, like wise men ; men, at any rate, who ought to have some portion of wisdom, seeing that we have the happiness of millions confided to our care, let us endeavour to draw some good even out of this great evil.

My lord, three of your ribs, it appears, were broken, and your collarbone was dangerously fractured, by a fall from your horse in hunting. We are informed, and I dare say very truly, that LADY RADNOR had flown to the spot where it was necessary to lodge

you, and had been in constant and most anxious attendance upon your person, day and night. Every one that has the pleasure to know you and her will be sure that this is true; and will also be sure, that this attention on her part must have greatly tended to mitigate your sufferings.

Now, then, my lord, suppose my man MARSHALL, having a wife and eight children, the eldest I believe, only twelve, were to have his ribs broken, and his collar-bone fractured in just the same manner; not by an accident arising from enjoying the sports of the field; but by a fall from a rick or a mow, or by the running away of a wild horse, dragging a cart over him, or flinging him headlong down some deep and craggy place; suppose him (as would of necessity be the case) to apply for *parish relief*; would you have him and his wife and children taken to a workhouse; *his wife separated from him*, and the children separated from both; all of them cut off from all communication with friends and relations out of doors; and all of them stripped of their own clothes, and have the odious workhouse dress put upon them?

The reader should shudder at the thought, and exclaims, "How could you put such a cruel question to such a man?" It is a cruel question; but the cruelty is towards him who knows it to be his bounden duty to put it. I know that your lordship will shudder at the thought: I know that you will say, that it must be in a savage breast that the design to execute such cruelty was first generated. But, my lord, I beg you to recollect, that you, in your place in Parliament, *praised the system of PARSON LOWE of BINGHAM*, in Nottingham; that you *praised the practice* of this church parson; and that you defended the Poor-law Bill on the ground that, without it, there could not be the practice of Parson LOWE adopted in every parish in the kingdom; and, finally, I beg you to recollect, that according to the practice of this Parson LOWE, MARSHALL and his family would, in case of such an accident, have been treated in the manner that I have described.

Never to be forgotten is the precept of "doing to others as we would be done unto"; and if this accident, which has happened to your lordship, should induce you to make the labouring man's case your own, even this accident, which has filled with sorrow every one who has any knowledge of your character, may produce the great good of making you reflect on the horrible nature of that measure, in the adoption of which your sanction had much more to do than that of all its other advocates put together. You were misled; you were blinded by the Scotch impudence and jaw; you were *fastened upon*, and held up to the mark by excessive cunning and incessant importunity, to say nothing of brazen falsehoods and infamous libels on the people of England. Left to your own good sense and benevolent disposition, this species of enchantment will, I trust, be broken, and you will be again the man which you heretofore were; and that you may feel that the words of the psalmist apply to you: "Blessed is he that considereth the poor; the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble: the Lord will strengthen him upon the bed of languishing: thou wilt make all his bed in his sickness."

With sincere and ardent prayers for your complete restoration to health,

I remain
Your lordship's grateful,
Most humble and obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO
LORD ALTHORP.

Shangana Castle, 10. Nov., 1834.

MY LORD.—There was one lucky circumstance belonging to the mad-scheme about the negroes, produced by the crack-skulled county of York, and by the scandalous impostors who have lived upon this cant about humanity for the last almost fifty years. It was twenty millions of money flung away: it was eight hundred thousand pounds a year laid upon our backs for ever; but, it was putting an end to the thriving im-

posture ; it was like putting an end to NAPOLEON, who was made use of as the means of robbing the people of England for so many years. The negro-scheme, bad as it was, put an end to this most abominable, this shameful, this at once ridiculous and scandalous imposture. Other BROUGHAMS and other WILBERFORCES, if it should please God in his anger to afflict England with more than the breed, may be sent forth to play their tricks in the face of high heaven, and to insult the sensible part of this nation, and to cause their ruin at the same time. By that cracked-skulled, that canting, that hypocritical, that fanatical, that conceited, that bragging, crew, forty thousand of whom ran away once at the sight of twelve dragoons and their sergeant, and knocked down crowds of women and children in their flight ; this cracked-skulled and light-headed and talking and bothering crew, who send thirty-seven members to Parliament, while the greatly more valuable county of CORK sends only eight, while it feeds one-half of the cracked-skulls at the same time ; this fanatical and presumptuous and meddling and mischievous crew may possibly find out other WILBERFORCES and other BROUGHAMS to fasten upon us ; but they never can again, thank God ! have the base and hypocritical pretence of sending them ; of sticking them on upon us with the weazel-like claws and muzzies, under the base and hypocritical pretence of obtaining "FREEDOM FOR THEIR FELLOW-MEN IN THE WEST INDIES."

The scheme has been, thus far, productive of all the consequences, which I, you well know, told you to anticipate from it ; Mr. STANLEY's flashy speeches ; and the small talk between him and FOWELL BUXTON, in the month of May last, I think it was, intended to send about the country the news of the "*complete success*" of the scheme ; small talk arising from FOWELL, under pretence of wanting information as to how they were going on amongst the negroes. This drew from the Right Hon. *superintendent of some Irish estates that I have seen*, and about which I shall probably talk of to his

face ; this drew from him (as the thing had been contrived between them beforehand) a description of the *glorious success* of that "*great measure of humanity*!"

It is very true that the loss of the money given to the sharpers who have mortgages on the West India estates ; it is very true that the loss of this money is a good deal ; it is very true that the ridicule which will fall upon Mr. STANLEY, yourself, and FOWELL, will be mortifying enough to you, and amusing enough to all the rest of the world ; but, at any rate, there will be no more of the imposture. FOWELL cannot again come with his petition signed by two hundred and seventy-eight thousand females : he cannot again play off this farce of humanity. It is a curious fact that, in the *small talk* of FOWELL and STANLEY, the former asked the latter whether the usual quantity of provisions had been sent to the West Indies from *Ireland*, for the negroes to eat ; and STANLEY "had great pleasure in telling the honourable FOWELL, that he believed "there had been no diminution in the "quantity usually sent for that purpose." In a few minutes after this answer had been given, Mr. SHEIL, member for the *county of Tipperary*, rose, and asked Mr. LITTLETON if the Government had received any intelligence, relative to the fact of there being, at that moment, in that country, four thousand persons IN DANGER OF BEING STARVED ON ACCOUNT OF THE SCARCITY OF POTATOES ? To which Mr. LITTLETON replied, that the Government had been informed of the circumstance, and that it would take care to adopt measures of precaution !

Now, my lord, let me ask whether it be "*humanity*" for a Government to stand by and see the meat and the flour and the butter sent away from the poor Irish who raise them, to be eaten by these black fellows, who do not raise them. If ever there were any thing in the world more shameful than all other things, this is that thing ; this is that unparalleled shame. My lord, protection is necessary to maintain the claim of alle-

giance. Have men, who are proprietors of land, a right, I mean a *legal* right, to act thus towards those who till the land? In the ownership of land it seems always to be forgotten in the present day that there are two parties: the landholder, and the chief of the commonwealth, who, in our country, is a king. In every estate, there is proprietorship, and there is dominion. Your lordship has the proprietorship in your estate; but your estate forms a part of his Majesty's dominions; and you are not to use the proprietorship in such a manner as for that use to be manifestly dangerous to the *dominion* which his Majesty has in the estate. I know very well that YOU would not, and do not, so use your proprietorship; but, placed in the station in which you now are, it is your duty, and your bounden duty, too, to prevent the wrong being done to his Majesty by persons who may be proprietors of other parts of his Majesty's dominions. And, will any one pretend to say that his Majesty's dominions are not misused, and that dangers to his royal rights may arise, and, in the end, must arise, from misuse so flagrantly outrageous as that which takes the food from those who raise it, exposing them to starvation, which carries that food out of the country, and which causes the poor creatures who raise it to receive nothing in return.

It is very easy to talk of a landholder having "a right to do that *which he likes with his own*"; very easy for him to tell the people who are living on the estate, or near it, that they may go away from it if they please; and that it is their own fault if they continue to be there. It is very easy to say all this; and the arrogant and insolent pretension of the main part of the present landowners, especially the Irish, is well enough expressed in this sort of language. But will you contend, my lord, or will any one but a half-drunk, half-mad, greedy, cormorant, monster, seeking to aggrandize himself by flattering the sordid propensities of landholders; will any one but a hideous monster like this, stepping forth with the howl, and almost the

figure, of Satan; will any one not cursed with depravity equal to that of the Jews, dare to stand forward and assert this; namely,

That, supposing the whole of the land of the kingdom to have for proprietors one thousand men, that one thousand men have a RIGHT (each being able with his family to live upon the fruits of five acres of ground) to refuse to let any of the rest of the land be cultivated or used, and thus to cause all the people to die, or to quit the kingdom?

Let us have no shuffling here. Let the Scotch vagabonds not attempt to shuffle or explain. Let them say that they are ready to maintain and stand by this proposition, or that they are not; if the former, what *dominion* has the King? What *subjects* has he? What *rights* has he? What protection is there in the laws? Yet they must not flinch; or what becomes of the right of Scotch and Irish landlords to clear their estates? What becomes of their right to toss the King's subjects out upon the road to perish, while they send out of the country the food raised upon their estates? What becomes of their right; or rather, is it not a *crime* in them to give to any portion of his Majesty's subjects the choice of perishing in Ireland, or of quitting the kingdom for ever? And finally, what become of the principles laid down by BROUGHAM in defence of the Poor-law Bill?

Ah! my lord! We have as yet only a glimpse of the consequences of passing this bill. I have been laughing to-day at the appointment of those illustrious brother-members of Parliament of ours, the sublime Messrs. GROTE, WHITMORE, WARD, CLAY, Colonel TORRENS, and Mr. SHEIL's HILL, one of the members for the town of HULL, in the cracked-skull county of York; I have been laughing at the appointment of these, our *brother-senators*, to be COMMISSIONERS under an act for establishing a new colony in the neighbourhood of Botany Bay, or in the Botany Bay country; which appointment has carried my recollection back to the zeal and devotion

with which these our brethren defended the Poor-law Bill ; and especially that part of it which provides for the *taxing of parishes for the sending of the working people out of the country*, at the very moment when we had, under your hand, a report telling us, that a great part of the lands of England lay uncultivated for the *want of a sufficiency of hands employed upon them* ; at the very moment when, by way of weakening an argument of mine, you yourself declared that *you did not believe that there was a surplus of labour in the country* !

Ah ! my lord ! A government does not get along : it may live : it may boggle and jostle about : it may exist amidst shuffles and expedients ; but it must produce intolerable evils at last ; it must become insufferable in time, when means like these are resorted to to prop it up. Mr. Commissioner HILL appears to be a great favourite, and nearly upon a level with WOOD, emphatically called JOHN. The rest of these eloquent squires, who so poured out their souls in praises of the Elysian fields in the south seas ; and that *Lord of the Shannon*, who promised me so faithfully a bill to amend the stamp-laws, and, who, in his right of sovereign, collects a revenue from the sea-weed thrown up by the tide ; even his enlarged soul, too, poured itself forth, in almost evangelical strains in praise of the blessings to be found on the borders of the Swan River. Never shall I forget the cogent arguments, the ponderous eloquence, of the squires, GROTE and CLAY ; and as to Squire WHITMORE, he seemed to have caught the spirit of DEMOSTHENES himself, when he was speaking of the "vast regions," the "fertile lands" of which were about to be brought under cultivation by your wonder-working bill.

I shall take care that no persons emigrate from England, who have arms to defend her, and who are not such base, spiritless, or imbecile creatures, as to be of no value. I shall teach the able men, that it is their right as well as their duty to remain in England ; and a proper sense of your duty would teach you, that you ought to expose the various tricks and

contrivances by which his Majesty's subjects are deluded or driven away from their country and their allegiance. In the meanwhile there are other effects proceeding from measures, and out of a state of things produced by an inattention to the doctrines which I have above laid down relative to the rights of dominion and proprietorship. A disregard of those doctrines and principles has led to a sort of treatment of the working people, which has finally produced that which my Lord STANHOPE lamented, several years ago, as being likely to be produced, namely, a feeling of universal and bitter hostility of the poor against the rich. Faraway as I am from my home, complete as is my lack of all private information from England, I gather from the bare newspapers, that the scenes of the fall of the autumn of 1830, are now again renewed. I renew, in this address to your lordship, and beg leave to be understood as again expressing, all that I said upon the subject in the fall of that year, and in the commencement of the next. I then fully explained to you and your colleagues, that, great and terrible as was your power ; dreadful as had been your proceedings in Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire, terrific as were the examples at BRISTOL and NOTTINGHAM ; you had not the power, and never could have the power, to prevent, or to check the progress of the FIRES, by any physical force, or by any punishments of any sort that you could possibly inflict. I then told you that you had *moral* power enough, not only to check it, but prevent it : I exhorted you to employ that moral power : you not only scorned my advice, but sought my destruction ; or, at least, the destruction of my character and influence, as a reward for having given the advice ; and I verily believe that it was mainly owing, or, at least, in-part owing, to that endeavour on the part of you and your colleagues, that induced my sensible and just fellow-subjects of OLDHAM to place me in that station, which will now enable me to give you the advice, and to urge the Parliament, in the name of the peace and harmony and happiness of the country, to adopt those measures which shall

once more bring back Englishmen to that cheerful obedience to the laws ; to that veneration for courts of justice, for which they were formerly so renowned throughout the world ; and which, of all the features in the character of a people, is the most valuable, conducing as it does, in every possible way, to the prosperity and greatness of a country. I am by no means sanguine in my expectation that your majority would listen to my advice, much less act upon it ; but a man must not be deterred from doing his duty, by even the certainty of failure in his efforts. I shall do mine, at any rate, proceeding upon the maxim of Major CARTWRIGHT : "Do what is right, and leave the rest to God" ; I am not one of those who hunt about the Scriptures to find out prophecies to fit the times in which we live ; but it is impossible for me to recollect that which I have read in those matchless writings, and to view the things that are before me at this moment, without being seriously impressed with the fear that we are doomed to experience the evils contained in denunciations more than three thousand years old. Our rulers appear to be incapable of profiting from any lesson, in however awful a form and manner it may come. The means of effectually obviating, or staying, the terrible and disgraceful scourge of which I have been speaking ; these means are so clear to my eyes ; they are so infallible, if adopted ; and they are so easy of adoption ; they are so perfectly costless, and so inevitably effectual ; that it seems to me raving madness that these means should be not only rejected, but that others should be resorted to, which, as sure as the sparks fly upwards, must augment the evil tenfold.

My lord, it is easy to talk of doing things *in spite of the people*. But pleasing as it may be to men of arrogant and insolent disposition, to entertain the notion that they have the power to do this ; and though, in certain cases, and for a certain time, they may do it ; in the end such attempts must always fail. It is not given to man, possess what power he may, to set the voice of the

millions at defiance. Nor is it right that he should be able to do this ; it is not right that any man, or any few men, should be able to enjoy security and happiness in despite of their hundreds and thousands of neighbours. It is what never was, and what never can be. If it could be, the life of man would be a curse : God would have made him to suffer evil upon the earth, instead of participating in the enjoyment of its fruits.

It is very natural, and indeed every moral sentiment calls upon us to deplore the commission of those acts to which I have alluded ; but, my lord, it becomes us, whose bounden duty it is not to lose a moment in seeking for a remedy for the evil, to look carefully into the *causes of it* ; and not to waste our time in useless invectives against the acts themselves, or against the perpetrators. The elaborate report laid before us by your lordship and other gentlemen, tells us that the riots of 1830 and 1831 arose from the *lowering of wages* ; it tells us that the fires succeeded the forcible suppression and the punishment of the riots ; it tells us that the fires were put a stop to by the raising of the wages ; and, everywhere, we now see that the fires are rekindled by the lowering of the wages, to which must be added the opinion naturally enough taken up by the working people, that this lowering is now contemplated to be acted upon as a system.

The defence of the farmer is, his inability, with the present rents and prices, to pay wages sufficient for the good-living of his working people. This defence is founded in truth ; and he might add his inability, with the malt and hop taxes in existence, to supply, in considerable part, the place of money payments by payments in kind, and by the having of inmates in his now half-empty and half-useless house. But, my lord, while the farmer's defence is good, as against the landlord and the tax-gatherer, it is good for nothing against the labourer, whose wages are now hardly, in any case, sufficient ; and who would be taught by the light of nature, if he had not the law of God, and the

law of the land, before his eyes, and if he could forget all the knowledge that has derived from tradition; he is taught by the light of nature alone, that he is not to suffer from hunger, thirst, or cold, while his life is spent in causing to produce abundance of meat, drink, raiment and fuel. The farmer is the person that comes in contact with him: it is *for him* that he has ploughed and sowed, reaped and mowed, hedged and ditched, attended the sheep, and cut down the coppice: it is *for him* that he has risen before the sun, toiled through the day, and dragged his weary limbs home in the dark: it is *for him* that he has left a wife or child in a sick bed, while he has been working and sorrowing in the fields to procure them the necessities of life. To the farmer, therefore, he looks for a reward for his eures and his toils; and he recollects that God has told the farmer to give him that reward; and by no means withhold it from him a minute, for that he has set his heart upon it. Thoughtless, hectoring, and arrogant, and unfeeling bullies may call the people of England the "*peasantry*," the "*lower orders*"; may speak of them as of insensible beings, while these bullies are taking such tender-hearted care of the blacks; but, my lord, fatal, indeed, is the delusion of those who assume that these lower orders, as it is thought wise to call them, do not well understand the rights which nature and which God have given them.

Thus it is that the *homestead* becomes the object of vengeance; and this, too, from the dreadfully dangerous opinion that the vengeance is inflicted without crime! To prevent, or to check, by physical force, is impossible. No punishment is of any effect in the way of prevention, if the perpetrator's punishment do not excite general acquiescence in the justice of the punishment; and if the suffering of the perpetrator excite *compassion*, it does harm instead of good; instead of deterring it encourages. In this state of things, we who are charged with the making of the laws, ought to enact such laws as will take out of the hearts of the people

the desire to inflict this species of vengeance, seeing that we have not the power of prevention by any other means; we ought to consider how we can dry up the current of mischief in its source, and not how we can dam it back when it is grown to a torrent, or a flood. It is to us that the farmer has to look for protection; and not to any other means that are in existence, or that can be brought into existence.

The danger from this cause was very great in the years 1830 and 1831. It is much greater now; and just now the difficulty of the currency comes and makes its prodigious addition. Not only cannot the farmer receive any relief from higher prices; but the prices *must be lower*; unless you adopt the course of legal tender for all bank-notes of every description. I warn you of your danger, if you do that; I have warned you of that danger before; it is a measure that cannot be adopted and endured without first abolishing the sinecures, the pensions, the grants, the half-pay; without a temporal application of the clerical revenues; and yet, if this be not done, the proprietorship of the land must change hands as completely as if by an act of general confiscation, and a new granting of all the lands from the crown. The only course of justice and of safety is, the one that I have so often recommended; and, while I have not the smallest hope of seeing it adopted, I am sure the whole country will bear me witness that the consequences, be they what they may, will no part of them be attributable to me.

I am,

Your lordship's most obedient
And most humble servant,
Wm. COBBETT.

The following address was read by me to the audience in the theatre at Dublin, after my lecture on the *Repeal of the Union*, on the evening of the 8. November.

When the applause had subsided, Mr. Cobbett again presented himself, and read the following as his address to the

citizens of Dublin, for the kindness with which he had been received :

GENTLEMEN OF DUBLIN,—In taking my leave of you, and about to take my leave of Ireland, I cannot content myself with a mere verbal expression of the gratitude which I feel for the kind and generous treatment that I have experienced at your hands ; but think it proper in me to avail myself of the occasion to communicate to you, and through you, to all our fellow-subjects, these, the following statement and observations :

1. That I have seen eleven prime ministers come on the stage, one after another, and be, one after another, snatched off by death, or turned off it by the more lucky actors ; that all these have been my enemies, each causing as much mischief to be done to me as he could ; and, that I am convinced that the one who is now upon the stage is most cordially disposed to act up to the example of his predecessors.

2. That these men, having always millions at their command, and always a hungry pack of mercenary writers in their pay, began their hunting of me at a time when I had but just quitted the red coat and sixpence a day ; that, in 1820, the present Lord Chancellor laid it down as a *maxim*, that Cobbett must, at all events, be *run down* ; and that these clever fellows have been at the work of *hunting* and *running down* for now more than thirty years, until they have at last fairly run me into a seat in Parliament, and into a set of circumstances which have led to all those marks of honour which you and your countrymen have been pleased to bestow upon me.

Gentlemen, I am proud of being the representative of freemen ; I am proud of my constituents, and of the station in which they have placed me ; I am proud of the applause of my countrymen ; I am, above all things, proud of the manner in which I have been received in this part of the kingdom, to which I came alone, and in which I was an utter stranger. I enjoy these things exceedingly ; but oh, how sweet are they, when taken in conjunction with a reflection on

the mortification, the impotent rage, that are burning up the souls of the haughty and empty-headed men, who, have been so long endeavouring, if not to destroy me, to cover me with indelible disgrace.

Still, however, there are considerations beyond these arising out of this visit to Ireland. The malignant men who have so long been employing a hireling press for the purpose of degrading me, know full well the attachment of the people of England to me ; and they know also, that the kind reception given me by the people of Ireland will have a tendency to encourage a mutual friendship between the two people. "*Divide and govern*" has, in all times, been the maxim of tyrants : "*Unite and be free*," ought to be the maxim of the people. The present state of things never could have existed had the people of England and Ireland known one another as well as I know them both. The great object of my visit was, to be able to promote this desirable union in sentiment of the people of the two countries ; and, gentlemen, you may be assured that if it be in the power of man to effect that object, it shall be effected by me.

Gentlemen, it is impossible that Ireland can be suffered to remain in its present state ! What ! vessels laden with provisions ready to sail for England, while those who have raised the provisions are starving on the spot where they have raised them ! What ! landlords living in England, having a "*right*" to drive the King's subjects out of this island, on pain of starvation from hunger and from cold ! What ! call upon England for meal and money to be sent in charity to save the people of Ireland from starving, and make the relieved persons *pay rent the same year* ! What ! demand allegiance from a man whom you toss out upon the road, denying that he has any right to demand from any part of the community the means of sustaining life ! Tell him that there is no law even for the protection of his life, and yet that he owes allegiance ! What ! give to three hundred and forty-nine thousand of the English people as many representatives in Parliament as you

give to the whole Irish nation, and bid the latter be *content*!

Gentlemen, there must be a change : these things cannot continue ; and let me be permitted to hope that the knowledge which I have now acquired, and that the support which I shall receive from you may enable me to do something, at least, in the accomplishment of that change ; and thereby, besides the performance of my duty, demonstrate that gratitude which I shall ever feel towards all Ireland, and particularly towards you, the gentlemen of Dublin.

PAPER-MONEY.

I AM going to insert presently, from an American paper bribed with English money, a paragraph or two relative to the elections which have been recently going on. If we were to believe this hired ruffian, who is an "accommodated" insolvent, we should take it for granted that the new Congress will be hostile to the President ; but we must not be such beasts as to believe him. The very language in which he conveys his lies to us, proves to me that a very great majority of the new Congress will be on the side of the President, and against the infernal paper-money. But even if there were to be a majority against the President, he will be President until after the charter of the infamous Bank shall have expired ; and he has given us HIS WORD, that, let what will happen, he will never give his assent to a renewal of the charter. So that the base plottings of London will be defeated, happen what may besides. However, *the thing is already done*. Gold and silver are the legal currency in America, as they are in England at this time. There are bank-notes circulating with the gold and silver, as they now circulate in England ; but the gold and silver are daily getting more and more into vogue, and the paper daily disappearing. So that there is no hope of a rise of prices here in England. America has no debt and no rascally pensions, grants, sinecures, and allowances. Her returning to real

money hurts nobody but rogues ; nobody but fraudulent villains. She has no taxes to be doubled by returning to cash, as we had at the time when Peel's stupid bill was passed. The President has swept away the locusts that were devouring the fruit of the people's labour ; and now all is right again in that country, leaving us more burdened than ever, and our distracted councillors reeling about like drunken men. I will now insert the lies of this bribed reptile about the elections ; and when I have done that I have another article to insert relative to *myself*.

" LIVERPOOL, Thursday Evening.—
 " By the arrival this afternoon of the
 " packet-ship *Columbus*, advices have
 " been received from the United States,
 " eight days later than the preceding
 " accounts, per the *George Washington*.
 " The greatest possible excitement pre-
 " vailed throughout the States, caused
 " by the elections which were then pro-
 " ceeding. On the 16. ult., when the
 " packet-ship left New York, the returns
 " were decidedly in favour of the Bank
 " party. In Connecticut, Maryland,
 " Delaware, and Pennsylvania, the con-
 " tests had terminated in the return of
 " strong and determined opponents of
 " General Jackson. As may naturally
 " be expected with a people possessing
 " the warm temperament and political
 " license of the Americans, the most un-
 " bounded fierceness and political ran-
 " cour were everywhere prevalent among
 " all ranks and conditions of society.
 " Charges of bribery have been made
 " by the opposition party against the
 " government ; and the newspapers op-
 " posed to the existing authorities dis-
 " tinently and unequivocally assert, that
 " the government is badly employed in
 " appropriating the coffers of the State
 " to influence the elections, and bribe
 " the voters. Time, and date, and place,
 " are given with such unerring minute-
 " ness and circumspection, that if igno-
 " rance prevailed with respect to the
 " usual policy, and too frequent disre-
 " gard of truth, evinced by the Ameri-
 " can editors, when party feeling inter-
 " feres with the expression of their opi-
 " nions, some degree of reliance might

" be placed on these assertions. It is also asserted, that the most unfair means are used by the government in influencing the post-masters, for the purpose of preventing the circulation of the opposition papers through the post-office.

" Complaints are being continually made by distant subscribers of not receiving those papers, while the government is engaged in the work of inundating the country with free copies of the papers or 'collar presses,' as they are insultingly termed, which espouse its interest. Complaints of a wholesale nature are also preferred against the post-masters, who are accused, in some instances unfortunately with too much truth, of the grossest robbery and peculation of the public money in the exercise of their calling. The government, it is declared, will bankrupt the nation in its desire to maintain power and ascendancy. Betting on the result of the elections is carried on to a great extent, and the *Journal of Commerce*, as well as the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, are shocked at the immorality and spirit of gambling which are thus generated. A great meeting of 'Whig young men' took place on the 14 ult. at the Masonic Hall, New York, which is described as being a 'proud result for the Whigs.' Long before the hour at which the meeting was to commence the spacious hall was crowded to overflowing with multitudes anxious to show their devotion to the 'constitution;' that is, their opposition to General Jackson and Mr. Van Buren."

Now for myself.

" Mr. Charles Mathews, after an absence of fourteen years from America, had arrived in New York. Some extremely flattering notices of his general merits as an actor have appeared in the papers, which preceding as they do his appearance at the Park Theatre, are likely to be beneficial to him. There is, however, another actor, who performs on another stage, against whom the most strong and *indignant execrations* are hurled by the Oppo-

sition papers. This is no less a person than the celebrated *William Cobbett*, whose recent *Life of Andrew Jackson* appears to have excited the most bitter hatred in the breasts of those persons opposed to the policy of that statesman. The long vocabulary of *hard names* appears to have been literally exhausted in describing what are termed *his atrocities*.

Reader, congratulate me, but don't envy me; for all this enjoyment is justly my due. I have good health, without which there is no earthly blessing; I am going about seeing new countries; and am every where received with kindness and generosity indescribable; and that, too, by sensible and just men. I do not know how it can be possible for any human being to enjoy greater earthly pleasure than I now enjoy; but, surrounded as I am with delights, without any alloy, not all the other delights put together are so great as that of learning that I have put the caustic upon the proud flesh of these fraudulent monsters in America. I abstract myself as much as I can from all other subjects of thought: I eagerly get into bed, promising myself the unmixed pleasure of lying awake an hour to think of the torture that I am inflicting on these wretches: no saint ever felt half the delight at the most signal triumph over Satan. I endeavour to persuade myself, that I see the long and haggard visages of the detested villains, twisted into all sorts of shapes, like the well-known visage of a Scotch quack, who runs about the country bawling out, " *USEFUL KNOWLEDGE!*" I think I see them with the father of lies before them, and with NICHOLAS BIDDLE for their priest, imploring him to give them one more hour wherein to commit their frauds in exchange for the eternal damnation of their souls! I think I hear Satan reply: " *What! I lend you again, when the Bill for your souls is already over-due!*"

This LIFE OF JACKSON was written one Saturday, during the last session of Parliament, I lying in bed, having been up in the House till one o'clock in the morning, and my secretary taking down

the words for the press. At the conclusion I remember that I said to him : "There ! that's a nice handful of hot lime, that will make the vagabonds curl up and foam and sputter and spew till they expire."

The vagabond booksellers of PHILADELPHIA, who, for forty-two years, I have known for the greatest rogues that ever infested the earth, have had a "*meeting*" at the command of NICHOLAS BIDDLE, and have "*resolved unanimously*" that they will not sell the *Life of Jackson*. They certainly did not take the devil into council this time ; for he would have told them, that this was SURE to cause a tenfold sale of the book, as well in Europe as in America.

PATRIOT CREEVY.

"Mr. Creevy, formerly member for Appleby, is the new commissioner of Greenwich Hospital, the emoluments of which office are about 1,000*l.* per annum. Mr. Creevy replaces Lord Auckland, who, by the recent arrangements, has relinquished his seat at the Board. The five commissioners are now, Sir J. Hobhouse, Mr. Poulett Thomson, Mr. Locker, Mr. Creevy, and Mr. Tierney."

I have known this man for a patriot any time these thirty-two years. The last effort of patriotism that I heard of him was, his going to OLDHAM as a candidate, for the purpose of keeping me out, sent thither for that purpose by the GREYS, the LAMBS, the RUSSELLS, and the BROUHAMS. He was a candidate along with this latter at Liverpool once ; and now, at last, we have to pay him a thousand pounds a year. Here is a TIERNEY, too ! I had thanked God many times that we had got rid of that name and that race ; but it seems that old TIERNEY, like the ADDINGTONS, and many others, lived in the barley-mow till he *bred in it* ! Ah ! this is a sort of population of which we have a *surplus*, God Almighty knows. We want a thorough-going "RAT HUNT" : terriers, cats, ferrets, broomsticks, guns :

we want the barn surrounded, and not let any of the devils escape to the strawstacks and the hedges. We do nothing if we leave an ADAM and EVE alive : we must totally extirpate the race, or they will overrun us again. *Burning down* the barn is of no use, if we let the breeders escape. And, then, it is so difficult to get at them : they are nestled into every hole and corner : they are of all sizes, and assume all shapes. However, something we must do : we must have one-pound notes and legal tender ; or annihilate this race we must.

NEGRO WORK.

(*From the Morning Chronicle, 7. November.*)

We yesterday received files of Jamaica papers to the 24. September. It appears that great difficulty is experienced in giving effect to the apprenticeship system. The difficulty is precisely that which was anticipated by reflecting individuals. If all the hangers-on at Government offices in London were shipped off to Jamaica or Demerara, they would not, however numerous, be sufficiently so, to supply the places of the whips on the different estates. When the slave was refractory, before the Emancipation Act, the driver was at hand with his cart-whip, and the overseer within call. But, during the prevalence of a refractory spirit among the slaves, a long interval must elapse between a refusal to work and the punishment ordered by the magistrate. Corporal punishment can only be efficacious in the way of enforcing labour, when it is administered at the will of the master. Between freedom and slavery it has hitherto been found impossible to discover a medium. In Livonia, Estonia, and the other Baltic provinces of Russia, the power of punishing serfs was taken from the landowners, and given to magistrates named by the Government. The result was, that the landlord lost all means of making the labour beneficial. If a complaint was lodged either by master or serf, the time consumed in hearing it was at the expense of the master. The charges were borne by the master. If the serf was sentenced to imprisonment, the time was

the master's loss. If corporal punishment was slight, the serf disregarded it or became sulky ; if the punishment was severe, it afforded the serf an excuse for doing nothing. The result was, that the landowners, sick of the business, wished to make the serfs completely free ; but they refused their freedom : they considered that they had a right to their grounds, and that freedom was only another word for turning them out on the world beggars, like so many ejected Irish tenants.

In Jamaica, the owners are dissatisfied with the special magistrates, and the Marquis of Sligo has been obliged to make a tour of the island in order to adjust the differences. The *Kingston Chronicle* of 23. September, states, that his Excellency had arrived at Montego Bay, on Thursday the 18. From the following account of the investigation, it appears, that in consequence of the harassing duty to which the special magistrates are subjected, there has been a great mortality amongst them ; that his Excellency expected the mortality would amount to one-half :

" His Majesty's ship *Rhadamanthus* arrived in the bay on Thursday at half-past three o'clock. His Excellency received company on board as soon as the vessel came to anchor. We understand, that at the instance of Mr. Manderson, his Excellency requested such persons as had forwarded memorials to him respecting the conduct of the special magistrates, would repair on board at seven on Friday morning, that they might receive such consideration as he was willing to bestow upon their respective merits. A great number of gentlemen accordingly went on board, and were graciously received by his Excellency, who took his seat in the captain's cabin, and reviewed the complaints with which he had been furnished, with great discrimination, and decided matters with as much satisfaction, we believe, as the circumstances of all the cases would admit. *Bon-homie* is one thing with which his Excellency is truly blessed ; and we think that all who were present must have been convinced of this. We trust

that every good man will see the necessity of following his Excellency's advice, and avoid creating dissensions in future. In conclusion, his Excellency thought that the special magistrates had not been supported in this parish as they had been in all the others, and added, that without that, the law could not be so efficiently administered, nor could they be so much respected in the estimation of the apprentices. He said, that with regard to the difficulties of attending to the calls of the various proprietors of all the estates, it was impossible for them to accomplish it ; that human nature would only go a certain length ; and that the mortality which had already taken place among the special magistracy, showed the harassing duties in which they were engaged ; in fact, he expected there would be a loss of one half their number ere the matter could be remedied ; and that the insufficient pay allowed did not enable them to perform those duties in the way they ought to be done. He, however, had sent home a strong representation, both of the practical difficulties in carrying into effect this part of the machinery of the bill, and in respect to the small pay apportioned to them. The vessel was now getting under weigh, and the company left the ship to proceed on her voyage."

His Excellency was expected at Spanish Town on the 24. There the rising spirit of insubordination and incendiarism had created the utmost alarm. The *Kingston Chronicle*, a moderate Government paper, does not hesitate to observe that the Government has been too lenient. " We trust," it says, " the tour of his Excellency has had the effect of opening his eyes to the necessity of enforcing a more rigorous system of discipline."

We shall give to-morrow, from these papers, reports of some judicial proceedings under the new state of things ; and we must own that some of the circumstances detailed show that if the apprentices sin, they have occasionally been grievously sinned against. Indeed it would almost seem, from a case, " *Anderson v. Gore*," that there was an in-

tention to drive the negroes to desperation.

The following extracts will show the spirit which prevails among the negroes :

(From the *Kingston Chronicle* of 22. Sept.)

" There was a report in circulation in this city on Saturday, of a very unpleasant nature, but whether well or ill founded we cannot take upon ourselves to assert, not having ourselves received any official intelligence from St. Thomas in the East. It was currently reported that the apprentices on Belvidere estate, the property of Mr. Cuthbert, had struck work; and that while the special magistrate was on the estate, having repaired thither with a company of police to restore them to obedience, they had the daring boldness to set his authority at open defiance, and to apply the torch to two trash houses, which were speedily consumed. We are happy to state, however, that prompt measures were immediately adopted to prevent this rebellious feeling from spreading, and that nineteen of the apprentices were apprehended on the spot, and conveyed to the workhouse."

" Since writing the foregoing, further intelligence has been received, which we believe can be relied on. As already stated, the torch was applied to two of the trash-houses. We quote the following from the *Gazette*.

" We have been informed that the fire on Belvidere was happily got under at about eight o'clock at night; and that the police force and a militia guard were stationed on the property during last night. The apprentices attempted to rescue the prisoners, but were repulsed.

" The cause of this affair is said to be this—the stipendiary magistrate had visited the estate on the day above named, and had ordered several of the apprentices, who had been guilty of misdemeanour, to receive corporal punishment on the estate. It had been stated to Mr. Lyon, in the early part

of the morning, that the people on the estate were extremely unruly, in consequence of which he ordered the police force to be on the property; and when the punishment was to be inflicted on the delinquents, a body of them prevented the order of the magistrate from being carried into effect. Immediately Mr. Lyon had left the property, a messenger was sent to him, stating that the apprentices had set fire to the work. On being informed of this, Mr. Lyon applied to another magistrate at Morant Bay to turn out the militia; but that gentleman thinking he had not the power, applied to the clerk of the peace for advice, who informed him that the senior officer on the Bay could order out the companies that were there. This order was therefore given, and two companies, with the constabulary force, mounted on horseback, proceeded to Belvidere, where they apprehended the ringleaders. These men were marched off to Morant Bay gaol, although an attempt was made to rescue them by their fellow-apprentices, and who were with difficulty repressed, even at the point of the bayonet."

" THE RESIGNATION OF THE HON. RICHARD BARRETT, CUSTOS OF ST. JAMES'S.

(From the *Kingston Chronicle*, of Sept. 20.)

" Some of our contemporaries, who have on former occasions failed to do justice to the eminent talents and integrity of the Hon. Richard Barrett, are now obliged to acknowledge that his recent resignation of office proves, that no temptation of power or influence could induce him to act in opposition to what he conscientiously considers the real interests of the country. His pre-eminent abilities, we may safely say, forced him into office, but he has always pursued a straightforward path, and disdained to truckle either to prejudice or party. He stood manfully forward amidst a host of opposition, as the first liberal and powerful advocate of the coloured population! He was the first member in our colonial legislature who

eloquently pleaded their cause, and who dared to deprecate the inhuman exercise of the whip! He it was who stood forth alone to assert an enlightened policy, and to expose alike the corruptions of the state, and the iniquities of office. He pointed out the proper policy to be pursued, if we wished to develop the resources of the island, and we have no hesitation in affirming, that had his judicious recommendations been duly attended to, this colony might have been placed in a far more flourishing condition! The pages of the *Kingston Chronicle* and *Jamaica Journal* bear testimony to the independent spirit and indefatigable zeal with which he laboured to improve the resources and elevate the character of the country. Fifteen years ago he urged with ample energy the necessity for stimulating the industry of the free native population, the benefit which would arise by the encouragement of small settlers, and the introduction of machinery and manufactures. His wise and seasonable suggestions were scattered upon stocks and stones! His liberality was hooted, and his plan disregarded! And this is the man, the discriminating, intelligent politician; the liberal-minded and undaunted patriot, who has been obliged to quit his post in the hour of danger! And for what? Because he cannot consent to truckle to the puerile, mawkish, pseudo-philanthropy, which fosters idleness and feeds vice, and which, if the present system be persisted in, will fill the colony with strife, wretchedness, and desolation. Deeply do we regret the resignation of Mr. Barrett at the present alarming crisis, for we know no man better qualified by an acute, vigorous, and discriminating judgment, to afford useful and salutary assistance to the executive. He has none of the sycophancy of a cringing courtier, but he possesses the far more valuable attributes of sound judgment and practical experience. If the governor estimated his superior abilities as highly as we do, he would not have consented to accept his resignation. This augurs badly for the welfare of Jamaica."

"THE RESIGNATION OF THE HON. S. M. BARRETT, CUSTOS OF ST. ANN'S."

"The resignation of this highly-esteemed philanthropist is another very bad symptom of the state of the times, for no person can possibly accuse him of being deficient in the milk of human kindness. He has been notorious for carrying his liberality to the extreme verge of imprudence, and endangering discipline by over-indulgence. There must be something rotten in the state of Denmark, if the mild decrees of this very benevolent proprietor have given occasion for any dissatisfaction amongst the labouring classes or their special protectors, the stipendiary magistrates. It is rumoured that the executive allowed a special to usurp the functions of the Custos of St. Ann's, which caused his resignation. We wait, however, a further explanation of these extraordinary occurrences with extreme anxiety."

(From the *Kingston Chronicle* of 19. Sept.)

The intelligence from those parts of the country from which we have received letters, is still gloomy and unsatisfactory. An experienced planter in St. Ann's, under date of the 17. inst., writes us, 'The apprentices in this parish are daily becoming more insolent and lazy; so much so, that a great change, for the better or worse, must soon take place. They are not earning five-pence per diem. This the masters cannot stand.' From Hanover our correspondent writes, 'It is really laughable to find the people awakening from their reveries, and discovering that the apprentices are not likely to work at all except in the hours which the law prescribes. I will tell you from whence the new disappointed expectations of many arise. There are several very extensively concerned attorneys, who fancied, by giving way to all the whims of the apprentices, they would rear up for themselves a good name for their constituents in England, and, moreover, with our governor, on whom they have, as it will ere long be shown, attempted to impose the truly incredible fiction, that the people under their manage-

ment were going on exceedingly well, &c. &c.; and it is a notorious fact, that one of these lately-made 'great men' had the folly to write a circular to all the overseers in his employment, not to require the special magistrates to visit the estates, as it would look bad, and induce the people to think the properties were not under well-regulated management!! No sooner, however, is it found absolutely necessary to bring the misconduct of the apprentices before the special magistrate, than you hear these time-serving folk wondering at being deceived as regards the behaviour of the apprentices, quite unwilling to open their eyes to the deception they have been themselves practising on the governor and the community. The law must be greatly amended to render property of any value; some regulations for 'task work will be the only available mode.' To whom the foregoing allusion is intended to apply, we are quite ignorant. The conduct of the party, however, deserves public reprobation."

To the generality of travellers this country presents an appearance of improvement, from the great extent of mountain land which has been brought into cultivation. Upon minute observation it will be found, though the lands have been changed in appearance from the first state, the alteration is of comparatively little value, being unattended with the outlay of capital necessary for permanent improvement. This extension of cultivation, strange as it may seem, is almost wholly attributable to the want of capital, which any person, who will take trouble to inquire into the progress of improving lands in Ireland, will easily perceive, from the cheapness and facility with which a crop can be taken off newly broken lands, but with this crop the improvement ends, the cultivator scarcely ever having means of sowing even grass seed in the land.

The house of the farmer shows no appearance of comfort. What must be the feelings of an Englishman, on seeing the damp earthen floor; no bed except what a few sheaves of straw afford; the domestic animals sharing the same shelter with their nominal owners: yet we are told the condition of the people is bettered, while every thing is absorbed under the name of rent and taxes, and no remnant left to afford a comfortable subsistence, nor to be the means of accumulating wealth.

There is another class of the many destitute to which I beg to call your attention, those congregated in the small towns, where the quantity of unemployed labour has been considerably increased by that extirpating machine called the sub-letting act, though the great power which propelled it has been to ascertain the great decrease by the recent enactment, yet its lesser wheels still revolve, and wherever put in motion, at every turn throws out a pauper, who directs his course, with his houseless family, to the next small town, erects a dwelling by resting a few sticks against some vacant wall, where they must breathe a vitiated air (instead of their accustomed mountain breeze) which brings on some lingering disease, that

TREATMENT OF THE IRISH POOR.

TO WILLIAM COBBETT, ESQ., M.P.

SIR,—It gives me pleasure to hear of your being in Ireland, advocating the interest of the most wretched of any existing (the Irish peasantry). You have travelled over a great extent of uncultivated lands in Ireland, and I have no doubt saw much poverty among the tenantry; but the south-western parts of the county of Cork, would present to you an appearance far more miserable than any you have met with. In many places the land, deteriorated from repeated cultivation, without the assistance of capital to keep it in a productive state, will not yield the cup potato (considered by the people a luxury), and is now usually planted with the white potato, which is the food of the grower, who would consider himself rich indeed, if he could calculate with certainty upon a sufficiency of this, of all other, the least nutritious food.

ends the sufferings of the unfortunate victims.

The average earnings of a labourer here is not more than from one and six-pence to two shillings a week, without diet, upon which a family of from four to six, usually depend for subsistence. This occasional labour leaves a good deal of unemployed time, which induces one of the most mischievously delusive means of employment that can be imagined, planting con-acres with potatoes. The following statement fully bears me out in the assertion :

	£. s. d.
Rent at Bantry of an English acre	4 0 0
8 boats of weeds, at 8s. each .	3 4 0
Expense of drawing weeds to the land at the distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile, 3s. per boat	1 4 0
Ploughing the land	0 3 0
Four men hacking, at 8d. per day	0 2 8
Seed Potatoes, 96 stone, at 2d. per stone	0 16 0
Two men, spreading manure	0 1 4
Cutting Seed.....	0 3 0
Eight men sticking potatoes, at 8d.	0 5 4
Shutting ground after planting	0 1 0
Five men, first earthing, at 8d. per day	0 3 4
Six men weeding	0 4 0
Sixteen men, at 8d. per day, second earthing.....	0 10 8
Thirty-two men digging in crop	1 1 4
Three men picking, at 8d. per day.....	0 2 0
Drawing Potatoes home ...	1 0 0
	<hr/>
	13 6 8

Average produce of the acre 1,200 stone, at 2d. per stone, 10*l.*, which leaves the person who plants the potatoes, the loss at 3*l.* 6s. 8d., and when you consider that the oarweed, the drawing of it, the seed, the ploughing, and the carriage of the potatoes home, and supposed to be paid for in cash, but when labour is given, which is frequently

the case, so much is required that it adds considerably to the above loss.

The bad effect of this system is not confined to this part of the country. In Galway, Mayo, Roscommon, and Westmeath, it is equally destructive to the man whose poverty subjects him to this species of extortion. In the months of March and April, those who plant corn-acres, traverse the country in search of land, with an avidity only equalled by their poverty, and when the value of land to the farmer is not more than from fifteen to twenty shillings an acre. The enormous price of 4 and 5*l.* is demanded for the corn-acre. If this is not usury, and the very worst description of it, taking advantage of the necessities of a starving people. I suppose you are aware that in the counties where the corn-acre system is general, there has been periodical famine, to a considerable extent, which the Government or the benevolent cannot so repeatedly relieve.

I have gone through a few of the evils which affect the country. You may perceive the different changes the farmer suffers until he becomes the freeholder in the same town, which is the ultimate remainder of his misery.

With the fragile connexion which subsists between landlord and tenant, there are several others relative to commerce, each depending on the other, from that of the banker to the lowest trader in the succession; the greater possesses the most unmitigated power over the lesser; for instance, by the banker suddenly refusing to discount, he annihilates the merchant; this can be done, and too often it is, by the information received from some malevolently disposed person, who is induced to destroy his neighbour, because he happens to be his competitor. In like manner the various traders, who depend on credit (and where is the man who does not?) may be made bankrupts; and the natural inclination to acquire wealth by removing competition, stimulates this species of destruction which is unknown in England, because there the law makes it the object of each class in so-

society to preserve the welfare of all ; and when wealth depends in a great degree, upon having the whole community comfortable ; it adds to the law the powerful aid of private interest, for if any individual becomes distressed, his support will be drawn from the pocket of the rich.

It is full time that some protection should be afforded to Ireland, to prevent the landed proprietor, through a false notion of interest, or other motives, from adding to the miseries of the peasantry without being obliged to contribute to the support of the pauper, which he makes, who is now maintained by the industrious shopkeeper and honest tradesman, whose benevolence imposes the tax, sooner than their fellow man should starve.

I remain your obedient servant,
A. SMITH.

FISCAL EFFECTS OF THE UNION.

(From the *Dublin Morning Register*,
8. November).

A favourable opportunity occurs at present for the publication of an epitome of what we have on former occasions advanced on the subject, and we shall embrace it.

The most prominent of these grievances is that which comes under the head DEBT.

At the time of the Union we owed (speaking in round numbers) £20,000,000*l.* and Great Britain 420,000,000*l.* Ours, then, was not quite so much as the one sixteenth of the British debt. This rendered it necessary that there should be separate exchequers and separate taxes. But a clause in the act of Union provided that, at some future day, the united Parliament should have the power of forming a junction of the exchequers, and levying indiscriminate taxes. Circumstances were to warrant the exercise of this power. One was the liquidation of the two debts. Another was such a change in their relative amounts as would reduce their proportions from 16 to one to 7½ to

one. The third was such an improvement in the wealth and comforts of the Irish people, as would prove them capable of enduring as heavy a rate of taxation in all instances as the British ; and of this improvement the united Parliaments were to judge by the relative consumption of beer, spirits, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco, and malt. Now our inquiry is, in the first place, how far these circumstances justified the Parliament in the exercise of the power of joining the debts and their liabilities, and the exchequers generally, and what the consequence of the exercise of the power has been to Ireland.

1. The two debts were unliquidated in 1816. They had, indeed, enormously increased. There is no justification here for the act of the united Parliament.

2. The debts came within the prescribed proportion, for as much was borrowed for the pretended "uses of Ireland," as made her obligations to the public creditor which were as one to 16 in 1800, as high even as one to seven in 1816. If this had been the result of fair or equitable dealing towards Ireland there would be at least one strong ground for the act of the united Parliament ; but it was entirely the contrary, it was the result of admitted wrong-doing towards Ireland, wrong-doing proclaimed by the Parliament itself, its committees, and the ministers of the Crown.

A rate of expenditure was fixed for Ireland at the Union. This was regulated by certain tests of her relative ability, adopted by the government of the time. This rate was one part for Ireland and 7½ for Great Britain. The tests were admitted by Lord Castlereagh himself to be a defective guide, but he said the Government had no better to resort to, and accordingly there was introduced into the act a clause giving the united Parliament a power of adopting such other tests as experience might sanction, and proportioning the expenditure in all instances to the actual ability of the people who were to raise it. Sir John Newport, who has been referred to by the *Edinburgh Review* and the present Ministers as an authority of the highest class on all questions relating to Ireland,

contended in 1816 that the proportion should have been one to 15, instead of one to $7\frac{1}{2}$. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, then Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, spoke these words : " You contracted with " her (Ireland) for an expenditure she " could not meet ; your own share of " which you could not meet but by sa- " crifices unexampled, by exertions, the " tension of which only England could " have borne. Ireland had been led to " hope her expenditure would have been " less than before she was united to " you. In the fifteen years preceding " the Union it amounted to 41,000,000/.; " but in the fifteen years of union it " swelled to the enormous amount of " 148,000,000/. The increase of her " revenue would have more than dis- " charged, without the aid of loans, an " expenditure greater than that of the " fifteen years which preceded 1801. " Your own committee have shown you " what an advance in permanent taxa- " tion Ireland had made." In a protest which certain members of the House of Lords put on the journals in 1800, a still stronger view was taken of the injustice done to Ireland. Taking the balance of trade, they said, as a criterion of ability, the proportion of expenditure should have been 29 to 1

Current cash 12 to 1

Permanent revenue 13 to 1

the average of which is 18 to one. If we were made responsible for more than double our due share of expenditure, and if this injustice was the true cause of the inordinate accumulation of our debt, that accumulation afforded no warranty for the act of the united Parliament.

It is perfectly plain that if no greater expenditure was imposed upon Ireland than she was able to bear, her debt could not have had a more rapid increase than the British, and that in 1816 it would have borne exactly the same proportion to the British as it did in 1800, a circumstance which would have rendered a junction of the debt liabilities as glaringly inconsistent with all principles of justice in 1816 as 1800.

The act of Union gave the united Parliament a power of borrowing money

for either country at their discretion. If in one or the other they thought proper in a given year to raise money by loan, in preference to a making up of any deficiency in the supplies by new taxes, they were left at liberty to do it. In exercise of this power they borrowed in some years as much for Ireland as England herself, and there was one year in which they added three or four millions to the Irish debt, though they paid off a trifling amount to the British. In this power some have affected to believe there was conferred the right of reducing the proportions of the two debts, not by a liquidation of the British debt, but by an inordinate accumulation of the Irish debt. We have read, we believe, all the debates in the two Parliaments on the Union, and we never saw a sentence in which it was supposed that the proportion could be reduced without a liquidation of the British debt. Mr. Pitt, in April, 1800, (*Parliamentary History*, v. 35, p. 53), asked these questions : " Would you defer the advantage of the " Union, because you cannot at once " carry it to the extent you wish ? Or " will you defer it until, by the in- " crease of the debt of Ireland, " and the decrease of the debt of " England, the two countries had so far " approximated towards each other that " an indemnity of finance might be " established ?" This was the universal language on the ministerial side in both countries, while on the other side the notion that any just approximation could take place, by any disproportional increase of the Irish debt, was treated with the most contemptuous ridicule. On the 15. of March, 1800, Mr. Foster properly contemplated a rapid increase of the Irish debt as a demonstrative proof of our growing poverty. A liquidation of the British debt, which was on that and all other occasions spoken of as a certain event, was, on the contrary, regarded by him, and with justice, as an evidence of Britain's increase of wealth. Then, said he, in effect, this is the monstrous absurdity which you would force down our throats : that Ireland's increase of poverty and England's increase of wealth are to bring

them to an equality of condition, so as to be able to bear an equality of taxes." "This," added Mr. Foster, "IS CONTRARY TO ALL REASON." So must say all just men who are able to put two ideas together; and still it is in a theory so preposterous that any shadow of justification cannot be found for this act of the united Parliament.

There was one way in which some colour of sanction might have been given to a considerably disproportioned increase of the Irish debt. Discretionary borrowing was authorized in order to prevent an increase of taxes at unsuitable periods. Borrowing in this view was for the purpose of conferring an exemption from taxes. Now, if it gave that indulgence in any one instance to Ireland; if her taxation experienced no augmentation; and if new taxes were falling upon Britain in disproportioned masses; then, indeed, we would not have so much to complain of on the score of the inordinate increase of our debt. But borrowing gave us no such indulgence. New taxes were imposed in almost every session. They were laid on at length in such abundance as to injure the receipts of the Exchequer themselves, and this was declared in 1822 by one of the present Government, Lord Lansdowne, (Hansard v. 7, p. 1050,) and by another member of the same Government, Mr. Poulett Thomson, on the 26. of March, 1830. (Pamphlet published by Ridgway, p. 39). Nay, THE INCREASE OF IRISH TAXATION WAS NEARLY AS MUCH GREATER THAN BRITAIN'S AS THE INCREASE OF HER DEBT, and for this we have, in the report of the finance committee of 1815 (alluded to by Mr. V. Fitzgerald), an authority in the remarkable words which follow: "For several years Ireland has advanced in permanent taxation more rapidly than Great Britain itself, notwithstanding the immense exertions of the latter country, including the extraordinary and war taxes, the permanent revenue of Great Britain having increased from the year 1801 to the proportion of 16½ to 10; the whole revenue of Great Britain, including war taxes, as 20½ to 10; and the revenues

"of Ireland in the proportion of 23 to 10. But in the twenty-four years referred to your committee, the increase of Irish revenue has been in the proportion of 46½ to 10." (Session, 1814-15, vol. 6).

Then, instead of being less harassed than Britain by newly-imposed taxes, we were far more harassed; and in this injustice vanishes, we say, every shadow of justification for an inordinate accumulation of our debt. The debt, then, should not have disproportionably accumulated, there was warranty in reason, or equity, IN THE LETTER OR SPIRIT OF THE ACT OF UNION ITSELF, for the junction of the debts and their unequal liabilities.

Mr. Spring Rice, we understand, is in the habit of saying, and has probably said in Parliament, that this act of the united Parliament was, under all the circumstances, the best that could have happened to Ireland. This only means that if a man be fraudulently involved in debt, and if he be not able to meet his engagements, the best thing to do in his case is to make him a bankrupt. We deny the ethics of the proposition altogether. The best thing to do with the man is to shift the unjust debt from his shoulders—to say that it does not belong to him, and that he should not bear it. This is precisely what should have been done in 1816, in the case of Ireland. In that year her real capability was ascertained by actual experience. Whether the proportion of expenditure should have been, according to Sir John Newport, one to 17, or, according to the Lords' protest, one to 18, or according to Lord Castlereagh, one to 7½, could have been determined to the minutest fraction. The whole arrangement should have been revised since 1800. A new rate of expenditure, both past and future, should have been fixed—the right of applying surplus revenue to her own domestic purposes should have been left in its full force. And what would have been the consequence of this "equitable adjustment" to Ireland? MILLIONS UPON MILLIONS OF HER TAXES, THAT HAVE GONE TO ENGLAND, WOULD HAVE RE-

MAINED AT HOME, CHERISHING HER INDUSTRY AND AUGMENTING HER WEALTH. There would, besides, have been this very material advantage, that England should now raise, by exclusive and separate taxation, the interest of a great deal more than **HALF** the whole debt. Instead of separate taxes, amounting now to probably three or four millions, she would have separate taxes amounting to **FIFTEEN MILLIONS**. And would this, after all, have been an arrangement prejudicial to the substantial interests of England herself, though it was one quite consistent with the "compact" of 1800? Far are we from thinking they would. Increased security in Ireland, and augmented sources of commercial wealth, would return to her a measure of compensation "filled up, pressed down, and flowing over."

3. The third in the class of circumstances to which we allude is an approximation between the countries in the wealth and comforts of the people. We need not again give the figures to show that this approximation had not taken place. Suffice it to say, that in 1816, or even in 1834, the countries are, considering the advance of population in Ireland, as distant from each other as they were in 1800. Here again there is a total failure of all justification for the act of the united Parliament, and the ruinous consequences to Ireland attendant upon it.

The other heads of fiscal grievance we must, after detaining the reader so long, dismiss in a paragraph, in which they shall be merely named. First, our standard of taxation was at the Union in all instances lower than the English, for a reason stated by Mr. Pitt, when he said that "England always denied us "the use of our own resources, and "rendered us completely subservient to "her own interest and opulence." The standard is now, except in instances not of consequence to the mass of the people, the same as the English. Secondly, during the war our taxes were, on the whole, more than doubled. The same thing did not happen in England, and yet since the peace the net relief extended to England has amounted to

between thirty-five and forty millions, whereas one million, according to a return used without contradiction in the last session by Mr. O'Connell, is the total of the relief extended to Ireland. Thirdly, our expenditure has been every year diminishing without bringing adequate relief to the people, whereas for every million of expenditure diminished in England there has been a corresponding relief afforded to the English people. Finally, England bears at present a peace taxation, whereas Ireland endures nearly the full amount of her war burdens, though the present Ministers when out of office (and Lord Althorp especially) claimed for Ireland the justice of their removal.

LORD DURHAM.

GLASGOW FESTIVAL TO THE EARL OF DURHAM.

(*From the Times.*)

(Continued from p. 381.)

At 11 o'clock the doors of the Court-hall were opened. The hall was fitted up as at the circuit court. The magistrates' seat and the jury-box were reserved for the town-council; the table in front of the bench was occupied by the town-clerks and others officially connected with the city, and also by the provost, two of the magistrates, and the town-treasurer of Paisley. By 12 o'clock the centre seats were mostly filled. These had been allotted to the stewards of the dinner, with the exception of those set apart for the gentlemen belonging to the Press. The back seats had been reserved for the gentlemen who headed the various deputations from a distance, and the chief deputation from the Trades. At half-past 11 o'clock, the magistrates and town-council assembled in the Council Chamber, in readiness to receive Lord Durham. At a quarter to 1, the loud cheering on the outside announced the approach of the procession. The magistrates, and the other gentlemen who were to occupy the bench, then left the Council Chamber, and having received his lordship under the piazza, were severally introduced to him in the

Council Chamber, after which they proceeded to the hall. On entering, his lordship was received with loud cheers. Having taken his seat at the right hand of the chief magistrate, and silence having been obtained,

Baillie Gilmour, in presenting the freedom of the city, said, "My lord, we feel particularly gratified in bestowing upon your lordship the highest honour which we have it in our power to give. In the present instance, however, we feel that we do not confer so high a favour as you are entitled to by your merits, and by your exertions in the cause of the people. It must also give us peculiar pleasure to reflect that to your lordship we are much indebted for that measure of reform which has enabled us to meet you here in our present capacity."

Baillie Gilmour then, after having read it, presented the freedom of the city to Lord Durham

The Earl of DURHAM rose, and was received with loud cheers. He said that in returning thanks for the honour which had just now been conferred on him, he could not but express his dissent from one thing which had fallen from Baillie Gilmour. So far from that honour not being commensurate with his merits, he conceived that no Englishman could fail to appreciate it as the highest mark of respect which could be paid to him, coming as it did, not from a close corporation, but from a free community. He could not but feel, however, that it was not paid to the individual who was now before them, so much as to the cause of which he had been an honest though an humble advocate. (Cheers). He disclaimed any exclusive merit as to the Reform Bill. He had co-operated zealously with his colleagues in carrying forward that measure, as he had always done where the object aimed at was the improvement of our institutions; but he would say here and every where else, that we were indebted for it to one man, and that man was Lord Grey. It was now 19 years since he had visited Glasgow before, and he could not but notice the many improvements which had

been effected since that time; but, of all these improvements, none gave him greater pleasure than when he looked around him in that hall, and saw, instead of a close corporation, a popularly elected magistracy. He repeated his thanks for the honour which had been conferred on him, and said that none whom they had so honoured, or might hereafter honour, could be more anxious than he was to contribute to the happiness of his country. Lord Durham sat down amidst tremendous applause.

The chamberlain then introduced the guildry of Perth to his lordship, when the dean of guild presented him with the freedom of that city. In his speech prefacing it, he complimented his lordship on his exertions to adapt our institutions to the "spirit of the times."

Lord DURHAM, in reply, said he was deeply sensible of those marks of their esteem which they had conferred on him. He wished that those in the same station with himself would mix more frequently with the people. It was of great importance that those to whom were intrusted the highest destinies of the nation should do so occasionally. While conveying to the citizens of Perth his thanks for their kindness, he might also tell them, that if he were ever in that part of the country again, he would certainly wait upon them, and it would give him no ordinary pleasure to mix with those whom he might now call his fellow-citizens.

Baillie Gilmour having then intimated that the deputation from the country and the trades would be received on the hustings, Lord Durham, accompanied by the magistrates, proceeded to the Council Chamber.

As might have been expected on such an interesting occasion, the crowds in the streets and in the green were immense. As his lordship left the Justiciary Court Hall, and proceeded on his way to the hustings, the air was rent with the joyous acclamations of the assembled multitude, while groups of them might be seen pressing forward in every direction to obtain one glance of the illustrious stranger. Nor was the motley character of those groups

one of the least imposing features of the scene; the old were cautiously moving onwards, the young and the middle-aged were dashing along with the greatest energy, while children were raised in the arms of their parents and their guardians to behold the vast assemblage met to do honour to one of the most distinguished statesmen of the age.

Upwards of 100 flags, with appropriate mottoes, waved in the air, and gave a pleasing variety to the scene.

The different trades rallied round their standards, and hailed his lordship with all the warmth and affection of old and steady reformers. The crowd around the hustings was exceedingly dense, and manifested great anxiety to hear his lordship, while those who were placed at a greater distance, and were consequently unable to catch his sentiments, conducted themselves in the most orderly manner, and gave a practical demonstration of the great interest which they took in the cause of reform.

There would at least be upwards of 120,000 on the green.

Mr. H. D. GRAHAM, after some very excellent remarks on the occasion which had called them together, said, in addressing his lordship, that the working classes now before him were persons whose opinions were the result of ardent study, and he hoped they had such resources in their industry, in their intelligence, and in their conduct, as would show they were entitled to, and worthy of, the extension to them of the franchise.

Mr. J. TAIT then read the address, which was listened to by the Earl of Durham with the most marked attention.

THE TRADES' ADDRESS.

" May it please your Lordship,—The workmen of Glasgow and neighbourhood feel it incumbent on them, on this proud occasion of your welcome visit, to express their high esteem towards one who has, from his long and ardent attachment to the principles of reform, and bold, firm, and manly vindication of the people's rights, earned to himself

the true distinction of nobleman, independent of hereditary influence, and the associations of mere rank and wealth.

" Above all, we honour and esteem your lordship for the sentiments recently expressed by you in Edinburgh and Dundee, whereby you acknowledge that neither wealth nor high blood are sufficient of themselves to propel a requisite and sanatory reform in our civil and political institutions, and that without the aid of the working classes every attempt at general improvement would be futile. We hail this declaration of your lordship as something like a call upon us to be again up and doing. We cling round you as the standard from which the banner of freedom is to be still further unfurled. We promptly seize, with gratitude, the friendly hand so unexpectedly stretched out towards us, and embrace the generous heart that has so warmly responded to the voice of a long-oppressed and insulted people.

" From sentiments so noble, and yet so novel, in one of your rank, it follows that your lordship would, were it in your power, assist in extending to workmen, whose aid is avowedly so necessary in forwarding the good and glorious cause of social and political reform, the highest privilege of rational freemen: the right of voting for those in whose hands the legislative functions are intrusted, or that it is the opinion of your lordship that the provisions of the bill, which you formerly aided in drawing up and carrying through so many opposing obstacles; a measure great for the time; and to the promotion of which, although not included in its provisions, we lent all the influence which we possessed, are inadequate for the purposes intended, and must be enlarged.

" Let not your lordship for a moment suppose that we are so inconsiderate as to expect all at once all that we innately feel an imperative right to claim: a full, fair, and free representation in Parliament, by the extension of the franchise to all who in any degree contribute to support the state, and advance the interests of the social compact. This we will ever claim; but in pity for the ignorance, the violent prejudices, and

the heartless illiberality of those of the higher classes who look upon us as a degraded caste, we will be glad to acquire by peaceable and constitutional means, and through the incessant dropings of imperishable truth, a gradual extension of our legitimate rights ; and shall be happy, should your lordship join with us, in deeming household suffrage, vote by ballot, and the abridgment of the duration of Parliament, as measures now requisite, and which would satisfactorily lead to a better understanding among all classes of the community.

" That we are not demanding at this time the exercise of a portion of that political power which is our due, either rashly or unreasonably, we appeal to the measures passed in the two first sessions of what is called a reformed Parliament. Not one of these bore, except with additional burden, upon the condition of the British labourer. We, indeed, rejoice that the black inhabitants of our colonies have been partially emancipated; but when 20,000,000*l.* of money, the price of their freedom, were laid upon our shoulders, why did the legislature refuse to render the hands of industry more free ? Why were the mean but lordly paupers of the state still left to fatten upon the fruits of our toil ? Why was the base embargo on the bread of life, that we might have borne our burdens with the greater ease, and the unhallowed restrictions on the acquirement of useful knowledge, that we might have learned the laws of society more perfectly, not removed ? And does not this total neglect of the interests of the British poor and industrious call for a greater infusion of popular feeling into the national legislative assembly ?

" Taking it for granted that your lordship's response is in the affirmative, we earnestly desire that you may be speedily called upon to fill an influential and responsible situation in his Majesty's councils, and that you may be long spared, with all your faculties and energies entire, to promote the freedom, prosperity, and happiness of the people of this great empire, and never, like some who, in office, instead of rising in

public confidence and esteem, have miserably failed, even in common honesty, sink into disrepute. These are the sincere and fervent aspirations of the workmen who now address you, and in whose name and by whose instructions we have the honour to subscribe ourselves,

" Your Lordship's obedient servants."

Earl DURHAM then stepped forward amidst the most enthusiastic cheering. On silence being obtained, his lordship said, nothing could be more gratifying to him, nothing could be more honourable to him than to merit the approbation of the trades and other industrious inhabitants of the city of Glasgow and the west of Scotland. (Cheers). He could not find words strong enough to give expression to his astonishment at the splendid scene before him and around him. (Cheers). To see around him thousands, tens of thousands ; nay, he might say hundreds of thousands, of brave but peaceful men, brought together by one animating principle, was a sight not to be seen in any other portion of the empire. (Cheers). He admired the beauty of their native country, its lofty hills, its beautiful valleys, and its romantic lakes ; but in his mind these did not constitute the chief beauty of the country ; he liked the mental attributes which characterized the people, and which proved the strength of the national character. (Cheers). To their enthusiasm they added a grave and steady energy which was necessary for their success in any cause, while they did not lean on the adventitious aid of clamour and violence. (Cheers). Supported in this line of conduct by the wise and the good, they would render irresistible the exertions of the friends of freedom and good government. (Cheers). He most gratefully returned them thanks for the kind expressions they had used towards him personally. He was happy to hear them state all the complaints they had to make. Whatever were their feelings, it was proper that they should state them freely and openly. It was better that they should do so, because they would

therby secure the concurrence of all who might agree in their feelings. He hoped they would give him credit for sincerity when he told them, that though he would not flatter them, or though he might not be able to adopt all the sentiments they expressed, or go all the length to which they might be inclined to go, he honoured them, and confided in them. (Cheers). There was a difference in feeling towards them between him and those who were opposed to him. They feared and distrusted the people; they thought they would use their power if they obtained it to the destruction of the institutions of the country. Theirs was a fear and a jealousy of the people, his was affection and confidence. (Immense cheering). He would trust them with all he held most dear, with life, with honour, and with property, (cheers), knowing they would be all as safe in their hands as in his own. (Tremendous cheering). He believed their object was not, as was calumniously said of them, to destroy the institutions of the country, but the preservation of all that was good in them. (Cheers). He would proceed to notice some of the topics embraced in their address. It was the first occasion on which he had met them; he hoped it would not be the last on which he would appear among them, but it was proper they should know who it was they had to deal with, and how far they could depend upon him. There were three points in their address to which they directed his attention: householder suffrage, short Parliaments, and vote by ballot. He would make no concealment with them on these topics. He had long ago given pledges to his country as to the first two; he had already proposed in his place in Parliament householder suffrage. (Cheers). He had already proposed triennial Parliaments (cheers); and his principles remained the same. (Cheers). He might have yielded as he ought to do to the feelings of good reformers, but he never did and never would compromise with the enemy, though he would never refuse to sink his own opinions if sincere and good reformers differed with him on the point

of expediency. There were great differences of opinion on the subject of the ballot. Some of the very best reformers thought that it was not advisable, and were therefore against it. After mature deliberation, and after giving the subject every possible consideration, he was decidedly in favour of the ballot. (Tremendous cheers). This declaration he did not make for a momentary purpose. Those who knew him, knew that he had long entertained and acted on these opinions. It was the only means of preventing corruption, the only security for the independence of the voter, without which the franchise would be a curse instead of a blessing. (Cheering). They would thus see that his opinions were not hostile to those in the address. They were not, however, to deceive themselves; he saw they did not, because they knew that there was a large portion of the country opposed to the extension of the suffrage. They feared the people, and were united to oppose them. They, too, were powerful; but he did not bid them despair, or to allow their aspiration, as they happily called it, after political freedom and independence, to be destroyed. Let them follow in the course they were pursuing, and which was admirably pointed out in the address; let them endeavour by tranquillity, and by the diffusion of sound political opinions, to show themselves every day more and more deserving of, and entitled to, the extension of political rights, and if it could be thus secured by obtaining the concurrence of the other classes of the people, it would secure the lasting peace and prosperity of the country. (Great applause). He again returned thanks for the splendid reception he had met with from the honest, the industrious, and the intelligent inhabitants of Glasgow. His lordship sat down amid deafening cheers.

The following addresses were then presented, but not read:

By Mr. W. Thomson, from the weavers (hand-loom) of Glasgow.

By Mr. Dunn, from the North West Political Union.

By Mr. Wallace, of Kelly, M.P., from the Political Union of Glasgow.

From the magistrates and town council of Greenock, and from the Greenock branch of the Renfrewshire Political Union.

Addresses were next presented from the trades of Edinburgh.

From the Edinburgh United Irishmen, and from the burgh of Dumbarton.

By Mr. Bontine, from the Renfrewshire Political Union.

By Dr. M'Fadyen, from the inhabitants of Saltcoats.

By Dr. Taylor, from the inhabitants of Ayr.

By Mr. Bruce, from the inhabitants of Irvine.

By Baillie Craig, from the Kilmarnock Political Union.

By Captain Speirs, from the inhabitants of the western district of Stirlingshire :

" TO THE RIGHT HON. JOHN GEORGE,
EARL OF DURHAM.

" THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF STIRLINGSHIRE.

" My Lord,—We, the inhabitants of the western district of Stirlingshire, in public meeting assembled, avail ourselves of your visit to the west of Scotland, to express the deep gratitude we feel for the many important services your lordship has rendered your country. Your patriotic and liberal advocacy of the rights of the people, while a member of the House of Commons, your consistent conduct, your steady and firm opposition to the venal majorities of corrupt and tyrannical administration, the large share you had in framing and passing the Reform Act, are services which we love to remember, and can never forget.

" As Scotchmen, we feel in a peculiar manner the benefit of the Reform Act, which has rescued our country from a state of political degradation and slavery, and elevated it to comparative freedom and dignity.

" My lord, we admire your fearless denunciation of all abuses, and especially your late public depreciation of all unnecessary delay in carrying into effect such measures of amelioration and improvement as are acknowledged to

be requisite in almost every department of the state, and for which the liberal and right-minded of our country look as the natural and proper fruits of the Reform Act; and we trust that strong in the support and confidence of the nation, you will persevere in the honourable course you have so ably adopted, and that whatever station you may occupy, you will exert the energies of your powerful mind to the removal of all existing abuses, but especially to the furtherance of those reforms which are still called for in the representation of the people in the Commons House of Parliament.

" Finally, my lord, we must be permitted to say, that we anticipate much good will result to the country from your visit to, and communication with, the true reformers of the west of Scotland.

" With every wish for your future prosperity and happiness, and with the fullest reliance in your unimpeachable integrity, we direct our chairman to sign this address, in our name, and on our behalf.

" In name and behalf of our meeting,

" A. G. SPEIRS, Chairman."

Mr. Speirs also presented an address from the town of Renfrew.

By Mr. Geddes from the magistrates of Kilmarnock.

By Mr. Graham from the trades of Greenock.

By Mr. Wilson from the Strathaven weavers.

By Mr. Fraser from the inhabitants of Johnstone; and addresses from the inhabitants of Galston and Kilbirnie; and the Irish labourers of Glasgow.

Lord DURHAM then said, he hoped from a consideration of the fatigue he had yet to undergo, they would allow him shortly to return his best thanks to the various bodies, for the flattering testimonies they had borne to his public conduct, and to say that the approbation they had showered on him he would remember to the last hour of his life. He required no such incentive to active exertion, for he always had acted, and ever would act, from the purest

sense of principle, and not for the sake of popularity. He had acted independent of the frowns of power, nor did he court those with whom he could not agree. He never would swerve from the avowal of his opinions, and he hoped he would get from them what alone he coveted, justice. (Loud cheering). He anticipated from them a verdict that he lived in their hearts for his exertions, not for his own interests, but for the interests of his country. (Cheers). Till his last hour he would feel the deepest gratitude for the great kindness and attention they had bestowed on him. (Shouts of applause).

On reaching the south side of the hustings, his lordship shortly addressed the crowd on that side, and to whom his back formerly was, and again returned thanks for their overwhelming kindness.

At the conclusion of the proceedings on the hustings, the procession moved from the green along Saltmarket-street, Trongate and Argyle-street, Queen-street, and the south side of George's-square. His lordship walked in the line of procession along with the magistrates, and most excellent order was maintained in that part of the procession by the town and police-officers. Every place where a view could be commanded was occupied. The windows presented a rich display of beauty and fashion, embellishing the scene. The populace on all sides cheered his lordship as he walked along, but he was so plainly attired, and altogether so devoid of that aristocratic and haughty manner which the Tory press so frequently, but most improperly, attribute to him, that in many instances it was with difficulty he was known. A tremendous crush was made in George's-square to hear the noble earl's good-by,

The noble earl entered the door of the hotel, but on the calls of the populace for a speech, his lordship returned to the outside, and the marshal having obtained silence by the waving of his baton, his lordship in a very handsome manner, expressed his gratitude for the flattering reception he had obtained from those with whom he was proud to

say he was now identified as a fellow-citizen. His lordship complimented the citizens on their intelligence and respectability. While he sought them not to give up one of those principles which identified him with them, he hoped they would conduct themselves with that respectability and patriotism which are the boast of a free state. It was certain, he said, that in struggling for those political rights which the higher classes would withhold, they would yet be victorious, and it would be far from him to say that they were not to persevere. His lordship concluded by again thanking them for the marks of respect they had displayed towards him.

Every sentence which the noble earl uttered was followed by immense applause, and loud cheering was kept up for a considerable time after his lordship had bowed and re-entered the hotel. The trades then dispersed, each body preceded by its own band and flags.

The Political Union for the Lower Ward of Renfrewshire, accompanied by a deputation of the inhabitants, and another of the trades of Greenock, arrived by the Clarence steamer from Greenock at half-past 10 o'clock, and, headed by the Greenock instrumental band, proceeded to the Eagle Inn in procession, and were there joined by Mr. Wallace, of Kelly, M.P., Mr. Bontine of Ardoch, President of the Renfrewshire Political Union, and a number of the councillors and members from various parts of the county. The Greenock reformers, as they proceeded through the city, attracted the attention of the spectators. The flags carried by this patriotic band of reformers were, first, the beautiful blue silk banner of the Renfrewshire union; secondly, a chaste red silk, and blue-coloured flag, bearing an appropriate inscription, commemorative of the sufferings of Muir in the cause of reform; and two other flags. This party had a splendid appearance, being well dressed, and wearing the medals of the union, leaves of oak-tree, and other insignia of union and reform. They arrived at the hustings a considerable time before Earl Durham made his appearance.

THE DINNER.

The dinner, like that at Edinburgh, was held in a building specially erected for it by subscription; 1,450 persons attended it, and were very comfortably accommodated under its roof. As there was a smaller number of guests, than at Edinburgh, greater space was allowed to each person; and this circumstance, accompanied with the better ventilation of the building, prevented that annoyance from the heat which at Edinburgh was almost stifling. The ladies, who at Edinburgh were placed in a gallery at such a distance from the chairman's table as to hear little or nothing of the speeches, were at Glasgow placed in a gallery immediately above it. It was decorated with festoons of evergreens, interspersed with flowers, and when filled, as it was in the course of the evening, added much to the beauty and attraction of the scene. Opposite to them was another gallery, in which tables were placed for guests; and on the sides was another gallery, in which the musical performers were placed. The appearance of the room when filled was peculiarly splendid. It was lighted by three gas chandeliers having nearly 2,000 jets, and the centre jet was hung in the most tasteful manner with crystal lustres.

The company previously to their admission into the room, arranged themselves in the area of Anderson's College, under the various stewards in parties of 28. The seats were then ballotted for, and each party, headed by two stewards, was ushered into the places which fell to them, under the direction of Mr. Bell, who acted as master of the ceremonies. A private entrance was provided for the reporters, who received from the committee generally, but more particularly from Mr. Bell, every attention and accommodation which they could desire.

At 45 minutes past 5 o'clock, the chairman, James Oswald, Esq., of Shieldhall, M. P. for the city of Glasgow, entered the room, accompanied by the noble earl, and was supported on his right by Baillie Gilmour, Charles Tennant, of St.

Rollox, Esq., Baillie Mills, J. S. Buckingham, Esq., M.P., Baillie Lumsden, and Professor Mylne; on the left by the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, Alexander Speirs, of Elderslie, Esq., Baillie Fleming, W. D. Gillon, of Wallhouse, Esq., M. P., Robert Wallace, of Kelly, Esq., M.P., and R. C. Bontine, of Finlaystone, Esq.

The croupiers were Colin Dunlop, of Tolcross, Esq.; John Douglas, of Barloch, Esq.; and A. G. Speirs, of Calcreuch, Esq. They were supported on the right by Provost Hardie, and Bailies Hendry and Jeffry, John Denny, Esq., Dumbarton, and David Hamilton, Esq. On the left by William Stirling, Esq., of Cordall; Andrew Mitchell, Esq., of Maulside; Alexander Denniston, Esq., and Professor Mylne, who said grace and returned thanks; and we have to remark that here the dinner was not concluded before it commenced. The radicals of Glasgow were not so eager to pounce upon the loaves and fishes as the Whigs of Edinburgh.

After the dinner had been regularly concluded, "The King," "The Queen," and "The Princess Victoria," "The Duke of Sussex, and the rest of the Royal Family," were all given from the chair without remark, and drunk with the utmost loyalty and enthusiasm.

The CHAIRMAN.—I shall give without preface, for it requires none, "The People, the only true source of political power." Immense cheering and waving of handkerchiefs.

Toast—"The Navy and Army, and "may service and merit be the only "means of promotion."

The Chairman said that he rose to propose a toast on which he might perhaps make some observation, but the meeting was well aware that he was no speaker, and that he should not detain them long, for they had not assembled that day to hear him speak. (A laugh). The toast contained a sentiment, and as it was better expressed than any thing he could say on the subject, he should, without further preface, give, "Lord Melbourne and his Majesty's Ministers, and we trust that their practice

"in power will be in accordance with their principles in opposition." The toast was received with three hearty cheers.

An appropriate song was then sung by the professional gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN then rose to propose a ~~toast~~, which he said that he knew that they would receive with enthusiasm, and he might, if he had the power, detain them for some time in bringing before them the high merits of the noble Lord whom they had the honour of seeing among them that day. (Cheering and waving of handkerchiefs). He might begin by stating to them, that the father of the noble Lord, their guest, sat as the preses of the meeting of the friends of the people of that town in 1792. (Cheers continued). He might add, that in no one point had the son deviated from the principles then expressed by the father. (Cheers). He would not dilate on the public virtues of the noble Lord, for there were two reasons why he would not detain them long. The first was, because he could not do justice to the subject; and the second was, that the straightforward, manly, and intellectual character of the noble Lord convinced him that he (Earl Durham) would feel it unpleasant to have his praises sung before him. (Cheers). He could only say that in no one instance had the noble Lord deviated from the principles which he had professed in his outset of public life. He had always gone straightforward to his object. He had turned neither to the right nor the left (cheers); but had dared to be honest in the worst of times. In times of difficulty and danger he had always been at his post to advocate the cause of the people; and he (the chairman) was quite sure that the noble Lord's conduct henceforward would always correspond with what they had hitherto known of it. (Cheers). He might say more; but for the reasons he had already given, he should do nothing more than propose that they drink the health of the Earl of Durham with all honours.

This toast was received with a degree

of enthusiasm which nothing could surpass.

The Earl of DURHAM, after the enthusiastic cheering had at length subsided into silence, addressed the meeting in nearly the following terms: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I stand in need of your utmost indulgence (cheers); I require from you not merely your belief in the expressions which I am about to utter, but also your conviction in the sincerity of my feelings, which surpass all powers of utterance. (Cheers). Worldly honours have been conferred upon me. I have the good fortune to receive for my services the approbation of my Sovereign; I have been listened to with favourable attention in both Houses of Parliament; but in all these situations, and under all those circumstances, eliciting feelings of just and honourable pride, there has been wanting that animating excitement, that inspiring enthusiasm, which always fills my breast when I am cheered and gratified by the approbation of my fellow-countrymen, eagerly pursuing the same object with myself, unalloyed by private or public considerations, that object being that great public object which ought to be the end and aim of all our exertions—the improvement and welfare of our common country. (Cheers). I am not, therefore, sufficiently master of myself to thank you as I ought; and yet, how warmly I ought to thank you! for you have placed me in an elevation vainly coveted by those infinitely superior to me in talent and ability (loud cries of No, no); and yet I will not discredit your choice so much as to say that I have not deserved well of you. (Cheers).

(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

- FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1834.
BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.
HINDE, W., Liverpool, drysalter.
BANKRUPTS.
ALLEN, W. B., Clapton, Somersetshire, tanner.
BAILEY, J., Sparnolt, Hampshire, cattle-salesman.
DAVIES, R., Noble-street, straw-hat-manufacturer.

EMERY, J. C., Broad-street-buildings, and Lloyd's Coffee-house, underwriter.
 HAMPSON, J., Salford, Lancashire, book-seller.
 HARVEY, E., Exeter, baby-linen-manufacturer.
 JONES, H., Poultry, chinaman.
 MILLS, S. & N., B. Jowett, and S. Mills, jun., Bolt-court, Fleet-street, printers.
 MITCHELL, J., Penistone, Yorkshire, cloth-manufacturer.
 MORGAN, T., Elgin, Herefordshire, timber-merchant.
 PHILLIPS, E., Chancery-alley, Clerkenwell, provision-merchant.
 STRAKER, J., Jarrow-lodge, Durham, ship-builder.
 WEBB, J. W., Axbridge, Somersetshire, grocer.
 WICKES, A. N., Clement's-lane, Lombard-street, watchmaker.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

DEANE, J. and T., Stewarton, near Kilmarnock, carpet-manufacturers.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 11.

INSOLVENTS.

LAMERT, A., Church-street, Spitalfields, dealer.
 LAYTON, J. W., Kew, coal-merchant.
 SPENCER, T., Church-street, Bethnal-green, shoe-manufacturer.
 TAYNTON, N., Lincoln's Inn, law-stationer.

BANKRUPTS.

BOOTH, J., Nottingham, stone-mason.
 CARTER, C., Oxford-street, woollen-draper.
 COOPER, W. J., Sackville-street, Piccadilly.
 CORPE, T., Limehouse, tavern-keeper.
 DEAN, T., Asylum-buildings, Westminster-road, cowkeeper.
 FRANCES, E., Loampit-hill, Lewisham, Kent, baker.
 GOWAR, T., Greenwich-road, coach-maker.
 GRANGER, T., Carey-street, victualler.
 HARRIS, W., ses., and B. Harris, Stoke-Prior, Worcestershire, millers.
 HARWAR, C., Oldham, Lancashire, money-scrivener.
 JONES, C. T., Brighton, coach-proprietor.
 MANSELL, T., Stourbridge, Worcestershire, grocer.
 MEDWIN, T. C., Broad-wall, Stamford-st., engineer.
 RIVERS, G., Twickenham, upholsterer.
 RIVERS, J., Highwych, Hertfordsh., grocer.
 TAYLOR, J., Spotland-bridge, Lancashire, hatter.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Nov. 10.—
 The supplies of Wheat from the home coun-

ties, as well as land-carriage samples, were moderate to this morning's market. The market opened steadily, Wheat proving saleable at the currency of last Monday, and a tolerable clearance effected at these rates. In bonded samples nothing transpiring.

Barley continues to come sparingly to hand; Chevalier and fine malting qualities realizing 1s. per quarter more money, the former article being taken at from 42s. to 43s. for prime samples, and for an extra parcel, 44s. was obtained. Distilling and grinding descriptions steady in value. Bonded Barley was in request; for middling and good samples 15s. to 18s. was refused; and for fine, 19s.

The demand for Malt continues limited, as only the needy brewers are purchasers to a small extent; prices, however, must be noted 1s. to 2s. higher than last Monday, Chevalier Malt freely obtained 65s.

The supply of Oats since Friday has been liberal from Ireland, from Scotland there are few parcels offering, and of English the arrivals are trifling. During the last month we have received 130,848 quarters, of which 111,185 quarters were Irish. Though Friday's advance of 1s. per quarter on Monday's quotations was maintained this morning, yet the trade was less animated than at the close of last week, dealers refusing to accede to the advanced demands of the factors. Holders of bonded Oats are asking higher rates and prices must be noted at 12s. to 13s. with some inquiry for the article.

Beans in short supply, and full 1s. per qr. dearer.

There was a good show of white and foreign Peas, but the demand was not brisk, and prices unaltered. Maple and Hog qualities scarce, and to the full as dear.

The Flour trade steady, and fine fresh ship qualities, the arrivals still continuing moderate, met a better sale at last week's currency. Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk 40s. to 46s.
 — White 42s. to 56s.
 — Norfolk, Lincolnshire, } 38s. to 44s.
 and Yorkshire..... }
 — White, ditto 42s. to 45s.
 — West Country red 40s. to 44s.
 — White, ditto 44s. to 52s.
 — Northumberland and } 40s. to 44s.
 Berwickshire red.. }
 — White, ditto 44s. to 46s.
 — Moray, Angus, and } 37s. to 40s.
 Rothshire red. }
 — White, ditto 40s. to 45s.
 — Irish red 32s. to 34s.
 — White, ditto 38s. to 42s.
 Barley, Malting 34s. to 38s.
 — Chevalier 38s. to 42s.
 — Distilling 30s. to 34s.
 — Grinding 28s. to 30s.
 Malt, new 44s. to 54s.
 — Norfolk, pale 50s. to 60s.
 — Ware 58s. to 61s.
 Peas, Hog and Gray 40s. to 42s.
 — Maple 42s. to 44s.
 — White Boilers 38s. to 44s.

Beans, Small	34s. to 43s.
— Harrow	36s. to 38s.
— Tick	34s. to 37s.
Oats, English Feed	20s. to 23s.
— Short, small	22s. to 25s.
— Poland	22s. to 26s.
— Scotch, common	23s. to 24s.
— — Potato	24s. to 26s.
— — Berwick	23s. to 25s.
— Irish, Galway, &c.	18s. to 20s.
— — Potato	22s. to 23s.
— — Black	18s. to 20s.
Bran, per 16 bushels	11s. to 12s.
Flour, per sack	40s. to 43s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to 42s. per cwt.
— Cambridge	40s. to —s.
— York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 62s.
— Single ditto....	44s. to 48s.
— Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
— Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland..	50s. to 60s.
— Cumberland ...	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, November 10.

This day's supply of Beasts, Calves, and Porkers, was moderately good: the supply of Sheep was limited. Trade was, throughout, exceedingly dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

About a fourth of the Beasts were Shorthorns, the remainder about equal number of Devons, Herefords, Welsh runts and Irish beasts, with about 300 Scots, about 50 Town's-end Cows, a few Sussex beasts, Staffords, &c.

About a moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the Southdown and white-faced crosses; about a fourth Southdowns, and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of old Leicesters, horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About 2,350 of the Beasts, about a third of which were Shorthorns, the remainder about equal numbers of Devons, Welsh runts, Scotch and Irish Beasts, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and other of our northern districts; about 200, chiefly Scots, with a few Devons, runts, and homebreds, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 140, chiefly runts, Devons, and Herefords, with a few Irish Beasts, from our western and middling districts, about 30 in about equal numbers of runts, Devons, Sussex and Irish Beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the marches, &c., near London.

THE FUNDS.

; per Cent. } Cons. Ann. }	Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur.
	91½, 91¾, 90¼, 91¾, 91½, 91¾

THIRD PATENT FOR THE PERRYIAN PEN.

I NDEX-RUBBER-SPRING PEN,	s. d.
	superior in flexibility to the Quill,
nine, with holder.....	2 6
FOUNTAIN PEN , warranted to Write MORE than FIFTY lines with ONE dip of INK, nine, with holder....	3 0

All the other sorts of the PERRYIAN PENS at the usual prices.—Sold by all Stationers and Dealers in Metallic Pens; and at the Manufactory, 37, Red Lion-square, London.

93, FLEET-STREET,

Near the avenue to St. Bride's church.

SWAIN & Co., Clothiers, Tailors, and Drapers, gratefully acknowledge the almost unprecedented support with which they have been honoured by the public; and beg to say that nothing shall induce them in any way to relax in their exertions to retain that patronage with which they have been so kindly favoured.

As SWAIN & Co. manufacture their own woollen goods, they are able to supply gentlemen's clothing at a much lower price than they can be procured for at any other house in the trade.

The following is a List of their Prices for Cash:

Superfine Coats, of Fashionable Colours, from patent finished Cloths	<i>L. s. d.</i>	<i>L. s. d.</i>
	2 10 0	to 3 5 0
Ditto, Blue or Black	3 5 0	3 15 0
Extra Saxony Wool, Blue or Black	3 13 6	& upwards
Superfine Frock, with Silk Facings	3 10 0	to 4 0 0
Ditto Trowsers	1 0 0	1 10 0
Summer Trowsers	0 14 0	1 1 0
Kerseymere Waistcoats	0 12 0	0 14 0
Marseilles Ditto	0 8 0	0 10 0
Valencia and Toilenet	0 19 6	0 14 0
Silk Ditto	0 16 0	1 0 0
A Suit of Livery	4 4 0	4 10 0

Naval and Military Uniforms, Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, Children's Dresses, Shooting Jackets and Hunting Coats, Camlet and Plaid Cloaks, Witey Wrappers, and every other garment equally cheap.

Export orders punctually executed.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.

WM. COBBETT.